

## Message Text

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ORIGIN ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
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O P 202316Z OCT 77  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE  
INFO USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY

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C O R R E C T E D COPY (PARA 4 LINE 10 GARBLED)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE/CBMS: JCS VIEWS ON CBMS

REF: STATE 251644

1. IN REFTTEL WE FORWARDED A JCS PAPER GIVING  
THEIR VIEWS ON CBMS AS REQUESTED BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG.  
THIS TELEGRAM PROVIDES INTERAGENCY COMMENT ON THAT  
PAPER.

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2. AS THE COVERING LETTER FROM THE ACTING SECRETARY  
OF DEFENSE SUGGESTS, THE VIEWS EXPRESSED IN THE JCS  
PAPER ARE GENERALLY CONSISTENT WITH THE US GOVERNMENT  
POSITIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED THROUGH INTERAGENCY  
CONSULTATIONS, IN PREPARATION FOR THE BELGRADE MEETING.  
THE JCS PAPER PROVIDES VERY HELPFUL BACKGROUND AND  
ANALYSIS OF A NUMBER OF THE ISSUES WE WILL FACE IN

CONSIDERING MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN THE REGIME OF CBMS  
ESTABLISHED IN THE FINAL ACT.

3. THE PAPER SHOULD BE READ, HOWEVER, WITH AN AWARENESS  
OF THE ALREADY EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS THAT HAVE TAKEN  
PLACE IN NATO OVER THE PAST YEAR TO ARRIVE AT AN  
AGREED WESTERN APPROACH TO BOTH THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTA-  
TION AND NEW MEASURES IN THE FIELD OF CBMS.

4. THE CONSENSUS ACHIEVED IN THESE CONSULTATIONS,  
AND JOINED IN THUS FAR BY ALMOST ALL OF THE ALLIES  
IS SUMMARIZED IN NATO DOCUMENT C-M(77)61 AND ITS  
ANNEXES, ISSUED SEPTEMBER 21 AND POUCHED TO BELGRADE.  
C-M(77)61 CONCLUDES THAT IT WOULD QUOTE CLEARLY BE  
TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE WEST TO BRING A LARGER PART  
OF THE WARSAW PACT'S MILITARY ACTIVITY WITHIN A  
FRAMEWORK OF NOTIFICATIONS AND OBSERVATION. UNQUOTE.  
WITH RESPECT TO NEW MEASURES, IT STATES THAT, QUOTE  
AS A COMPLEMENT TO THE IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW, ALLIES  
MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER ADVANCING, OR SUPPORTING A  
LIMITED NUMBER OF INITIATIVES 'TO DEVELOP AND ENLARGE'  
THE CBMS PORTION OF THE FINAL ACT WITHOUT, HOWEVER,  
ALTERING THE FINAL ACT TEXT. UNQUOTE

5. ANNEX I (C-M(77)61) TO THE NATO REPORT CONTAINS  
THE TEXT OF A DRAFT RESOLUTION EMBODYING A NUMBER  
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OF POSSIBLE INITIATIVES. THERE HAS BEEN NO DECISION  
YET ON THE TACTICAL USE OF THIS NATO DRAFT. WE HAVE  
SUGGESTED TO OUR ALLIES THAT, TABLED WITHOUT ITS  
CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH ON MILITARY MOVEMENTS, WHICH  
IS STILL BEING WORKED ON IN NATO, THE DRAFT COULD  
CONSTITUTE A REASONABLE, CONSTRUCTIVE AND BROAD-SCOPE  
ALLIED CBMS INITIATIVE AT BELGRADE.

6. IN ITS FORMULATION OF POSSIBLE NEW MEASURES FOR  
THE ALLIES TO ADVANCE OR SUPPORT, ANNEX I DIFFERS IN  
CERTAIN RESPECTS FOR THE JCS PAPER:

A. THE JCS PAPER IDENTIFIES TWO CBM PROPOSALS WHICH THE  
ALLIES MIGHT ADVANCE AT BELGRADE: PRIOR NOTIFICATION  
OF MANEUVERS INVOLVING FEWER THAN 25,000 TROOPS (THE  
EXISTING MAJOR MANEUVER THRESHOLD) BUT MORE THAN 10,000;  
AND A MINIMUM SET OF RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES FOR  
OBSERVERS INVITED TO MANEUVERS. IN ADDITION TO THESE,  
HOWEVER, ANNEX I INCLUDES PROPOSALS FOR:

-- LENGTHENING THE MINIMUM TIME FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF  
MANEUVERS;

-- EXPANDING THE INFORMATION CONTENT OF NOTIFICATION; AND

-- EXPRESSING THE READINESS OF CSCE PARTICIPANTS TO INVITE OBSERVERS TO THEIR MANEUVERS MORE FREQUENTLY, EXTEND INVITATIONS TO A BROADER GROUP OF STATES, AND AVAIL THEMSELVES OF INVITATIONS RECEIVED.

THE US HAS CONCURRED IN THE INCLUSION OF THESE MEASURES IN THE LIST OF POSSIBLE ALLIED PROPOSALS, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE ASSIGNED HIGHER PRIORITY TO MEASURES REQUIRING NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS OVER 10,000 AND CODIFYING THE TREATMENT OF OBSERVERS.

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B. THE SAMPLE TEXT GIVEN IN THE JCS PAPER FOR A MEASURE TO BRING ABOUT NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS INVOLVING OVER 10,000 TROOPS IS INDISTINGUISHABLE IN SUBSTANCE FROM THE FORMULATION CONTAINED IN ANNEX I. HOWEVER, THE LANGUAGE IS RATHER DIFFERENT. IT WOULD NO DOUBT BE PUZZLING TO OUT NATO ALLIES IF WE WERE TO PROPOSE AFTER HAVING ALREADY AGREED TO THE LANGUAGE WORKED OUT AT NATO. THE ANNEX I. TEXT ALSO CONTAINS AN ALTERNATIVE "FALLBACK" FORMULATION, INCLUDED TO SATISFY THE NORWEGIANS, WHICH IS ABSENT FROM THE JCS PAPER.

7. WE ARE STILL WORKING WITH THE ALLIES TO FIND A SUITABLE FORMULATION FOR A MOVEMENTS NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENT (PARA 5B AND ANNEX D OF THE JCS PAPER). WE HAVE PROPOSED THREE OPTIONS WHICH WOULD MEET THE CRITERIA OF MILITARY ACCEPTABILITY SUGGESTED IN THE JCS PAPER. THESE WERE PRESENTED IN DETAIL IN STATE 197382 AND HAVE BEEN THE FOCUS OF ALLIED DISCUSSION SINCE AUGUST. THE LATEST MESSAGE IN THE EXCHANGE IS USNATO 1004. THE FIRST AND SECOND OF THESE OPTIONS ARE THOSE PRESENTED IN PARAGRAPHS 5 AND 6, RESPECTIVELY, OF ANNEX D OF THE JCS PAPER. THE THIRD OPTION, WHICH IS NOT MENTIONED IN THE JCS PAPER, CONTAINS SEVERAL OF THE ELEMENTS OF THE SECOND BUT DIFFERS FROM IT IN SEVERAL IMPORTANT RESPECTS. IT WOULD SET A LOWER SIZE THRESHOLD (A DIVISION OR 10,000 TROOPS, INSTEAD OF 25,000 TROOPS) BUT WOULD APPLY ONLY TO TROOPS MOVING IN UNITS (THUS NOT COVERING THE LARGE-SCALE SEMI-ANNUAL SOVIET ROTATIONS) AND TO MOVEMENTS BEGINNING AND ENDING IN THE CSCE AREA. OPTION III WOULD ALSO CAPTURE MOVEMENTS ACROSS INTERNATIONAL FRONTIERS IN THE CSCE AREA. ALTHOUGH LITTLE SUPPORT HAS DEVELOPED IN NATO FOR OUR THIRD OPTION, IT REMAINS BEFORE THE ALLIES AS ONE OF THE POSSIBILITIES WE HAVE TOLD THEM WE COULD

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ACCEPT.

8. THE JCS PAPER (PARA 5A AND ANNEX C) RECOMMENDS SUPPORT  
-- "IF ACCEPTABLE REPORTING STANDARDS CAN BE AGREED UPON"  
-- OF AN EXPECTED SWEDISH PROPOSAL ON OPENNESS ABOUT  
MILITARY SPENDING. THE DRAFT SWEDISH PROPOSAL, PASSED  
TO NATO SOME TIME AGO, WOULD NOT REQUIRE ANY SPECIFIC  
REPORTING BUT WOULD SIMPLY COMMIT STATES "TO PROMOTE  
OPENNESS WITH REGARD TO THEIR MILITARY BUDGETS". THE

DEVELOPMENT OF AGREED-UPON REPORTING STANDARDS WOULD  
CLEARLY REQUIRE DETAILED NEGOTIATION FAR BEYOND THE  
SCOPE OF WHAT COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED AT BELGRADE. WE HAVE  
SUGGESTED TO OUR ALLIES, HOWEVER, THAT IT WOULD BE DE-  
SIRABLE IF THE SWEDISH DRAFT COULD BE STRENGTHENED TO  
INCLUDE RECOGNITION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF SUCH STANDARDS,  
A FAVORABLE REFERENCE TO THE WORK ON DEVELOPING REPORTING  
STANDARDS BEING DONE IN THE UN, AND A COMMITMENT IN  
PRINCIPLE ON THE PART OF THE CSCE PARTICIPANTS TO WORK  
TOWARD EVENTUAL PUBLICATION OF THEIR MILITARY BUDGETS IN  
A STANDARDIZED FORMAT. HOWEVER, IF THE SWEDES, HOPING  
FOR EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THEIR VERY MODEST PROPOSAL,  
SHOULD DECLINE TO STRENGTHEN IT, WE HAVE TOLD THE ALLIES  
WE THINK THE WEST SHOULD PROBABLY NOT OPPOSE THEM  
(STATE 188069). MOST OF THE ALLIES HAVE EXPRESSED THE  
HOPE THAT MILITARY SPENDING ISSUES CAN BE KEPT OUT OR  
CSCE ENTIRELY. VANCE

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